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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to frame a hypothesis accounting for the observed behavior of particular children in a contact language area, in an attempt to understand their linguistic learning processes. The community involved was the township of Bengue Viejo at the Guatemalan frontier, and the four informants, aged 10-13, spoke varying mixtures of Spanish, English, and Creole. The questions asked were: (1) What is the linguistic character of the community? (2) What is the nature of the children's competence, and in what sense is it a "knowledge" of the language of the community? Individuals were seen to create their own competence norms, competence being their knowledge of the available code. In the analysis of the children's renditions of "The Three Little Pigs," their individual codes were marked by particular expressions of hispanization, such as the dropping of the final -z, creole-ness, such as nasalizations, and r-colorations, which illustrated the extent of their "book-learning." For these children, there is no single internalized linguistic system; rather, they weigh their chances of being accepted in one role or another and create for themselves the linguistic stereotypes of those roles. (LG)

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DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGE UNIVERSITY OF YORK HESLINGTON YORK MARCH 1973

THE CONCEPT OF COMPETENCE IN A CREOLE/CONTACT SITUATION

R.B. Le Page

I Introduction

I have been engaged since 1951 on a programme of research which has always had the very practical aim of helping with teacher-training in the Caribbean and other Creole-speaking areas and, more recently, with the training of teachers of immigrant children in Britain.

The children I have been concerned with are normally speakers of something other than any standard variety of English or French, who are nevertheless in contact with some such standard variety as a model language, both written and spoken, largely through school.

What follows is a 'thinking-aloud' paper reflecting my need to evolve a way of talking about language that would allow me to frame satisfying hypotheses which might account for the observed behaviour of the children and help me to understand their learning processes - and hence, possibly those of all children. My primary concern here is to find a more satisfactory way of talking about observed phenomena than current linguistic theory provides.

The paper derives from one given to the Conference on Creole Languages and Educational Development held at the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad, in July 1972. The material on which it draws was collected during fieldwork for the Sociolinguistic Survey of Multilingual Communities, Stage I: Survey of Cayo District, British Honduras (see references in bibliography under Tabouret-Keller, Le Page et al.)

The texts in Appendix I are transcriptions from separate conversations with four children recorded in Cayo District by Dr. Pauline Christie in 1971. Each child was, at a late stage in the conversation, asked to tell a story, and these four responded with The Three Little Pigs. Version I, by Sandra Hyde, is given complete as transcribed by me; the first few minutes of each of the other three have been transcribed by Dr. Christie. As far as possible the circumstances of each conversation were the same, with the perhaps important exception that the interaction between Dr. Christie and her four informants might have varied for ethnic reasons.

II Brief description of the community

The township of Benque Viejo is at the junction of the Belize River and the Guatemalan frontier. San Ignacio, the capital of Cayo District, is at the junction of the two tributary branches of the river, about 10 miles downstream. The villages of Esperanza and Norland are strung out a mile or two apart along the main road east from San Ignacio- a town of about 4,000 people - to Belize, and Santa Elena is a township-suburb of San Ignacio, between the city and Esperanza.

It is fair to say that in many senses informants I, II and III are members of one community, being the same sex, approximately the same age and at approximately the same level of education. The child Sandra Hyde (informant I) is however perhaps the best exemplar of the urban 'mixing' that is going on. She lives in Santa Elena, in a predominantly 'Creole'

household although her grandmother is bilingual in Creole and Spanish and has indeed recorded a bilingual old witch story for us; but Sandra crosses the river every day to go to the Anglican school in San Ignacio itself. The fourth informant, Felipe Novelo, lives in the most 'Spanish' township, that of Benque Viejo, and goes to the Catholic school there where he is taught in the main by teachers who are themselves native speakers of 'Spanish' - a Spanish somewhat modified by contact with Maya, English and (to a much less extent) Creole - and who use this 'Spanish' as their home language. Informant II - Dorla Gentle - is the most Anglicised in her usage; she lives in a village (Esperanza) further along the road from Sandra Hyde, but goes to the same Anglican school in San Ignacio and, although the same age (13) is in a higher class; Informant III - Simona Muschamp - also lives in Esperanza, but goes to a Roman Catholic country primary school, Norland, where she is in Standard V at age 12.

The following table presents in miniature the kind of correlation we have been attempting in the Sociolinguistic Survey of Cayo District (see Tabouret-Keller et Le Page 1971 and subsequent related publications). The linguistic data are - as will be seen by referring to the sample data-sheet in Appendix II - three co-ordinates for each child out of a possible 25 used to position that child in a behavioural 'space' and to determine by cluster-analysis which children cluster together as groups by their behavioural data; the other data: age, school standard, denomination of the school and where it is, are four items out of a very much larger number of pieces of information which make up the socio-economic profiles which we have attempted to correlate with the linguistic clusters (as described in Le Page, Christie et al 1973).

	Name	Age	Denomination and situation of school and standard	* Linguistic properties of 'Three Little Pigs' Story:		
				Degree of nasalisation	Degree of r-coloration	Degree of devoicing of final -z
I	Sandra Hyde	13	IV Anglican Urban	67%	30%	37%
II	Dorla Gentle	13	V Anglican Urban	2%	75%	0%
III	Simona Muschamp	12	V RC Rural	53%	21%	-
IV	Felipe Novelo	10	IV RC Benque	2%	67%	73%

*For a definition of each of these properties see Le Page (1972)

The questions I wish to ask in this paper are: (i) what is the linguistic character of the community of which these four children form a part?, (ii) what is the nature of their own linguistic competence?, and in what sense is it a "knowledge" of "the language of the community", if such an abstraction can be meaningfully spoken about?

Similar questions have been asked many times by scholars working on contact-varieties of English and on Creoles - notably by Beryl Bailey, David DeCamp, William Stewart, William Labov and myself. I have myself never attempted an answer, but only ways of approaching the problem. I think, however, that it is possible to divide the kinds of 'answers' tentatively given so far into three kinds: first, those that 'idealize' the non-standard or Creole end of the spectrum and see the examples of more standard usage by an individual as aberrations from this; secondly, those that, conversely, idealize the standard and see non-standard usage as an aberration from this; and thirdly, those that wish to express competence in terms of bilingualism of one kind or another - that is, with reference to more than one idealized external norm. What all of these solutions have in common is that the behaviour of the individual is explained in terms of competence in norms external to that individual. I have, in my own papers on this subject, tried instead to stick remorselessly to the idea that the individual creates his own norms, performing also his own linguistic and social correlations, and it has for a long time seemed to me that many of the problems raised by the 'external norm' approaches are due to a way of thinking about language that is quite fundamentally mistaken.

What I need to do, therefore, in order to ask my questions meaningfully in this paper is, first, to outline a set of postulates about the nature of linguistic abstractions and, secondly, to examine the texts in front of you in the light of these postulates.

III The Postulates

1. Competence, in the sense in which I wish to use the term (which is not the same as Chomsky's sense) consists in having available a code, and the knowledge of how and in what contexts to use that code.

Knowledge of the code requires (a) an understanding of certain very basic processes in all behaviour, in particular of (i) articulation (that is, the meaningful joining together of unit responses) and (ii) mediation; and (b) an understanding of the possibilities of the medium, e.g. the time-linearity of speech, the planes of writing, the three dimensions + time linearity of gesture etc. An innateness hypothesis, language-specific, is unnecessary; interaction between the exploring and learning organism, the human individual, on the one hand and the data supplied by his environment on the other within the constraints of the potential of the medium, is probably sufficient to account for the specific properties of language. As yet we know very little in general about the properties of mediating systems such as language or money, but there must be some central recognition by the individual of mediation as a surrogate for other behaviour, and as the way in which a system acquires meaning. (The simplest example of this is the recognition by children that "things" have "names" which can be used for "pointing".) Thus creative knowledge of the code, in these terms, includes a knowledge of how behavioural codes in general 'work', and how they can be varied. It is in this sense that I later refer to competence as 'germinal' (see p. 13).

2. The code can be described in terms of abstract forms, the possible arrangements and formal relationships of those forms, the potential

functions of those forms, arrangements and relationships, their potential for variation, and, finally, their potential for realisation.

3. Any such description will relate to an individual's abstraction from past events, his own idiosyncratic creation, whether as linguist or as a member of a language community.

4. Each member of a community, having made such an abstraction, clothes it with meaning

a) by his use of it or his interpretation of it on sundry occasions

b) by associating his abstraction with a model - either a person or a community or a mode of behaviour. (In this way he can make statements about the meaning of a form in his language.) I refer to this process as 'projection', and discuss it in 11 below.

5. The code itself does not have meaning but only potential for meaning. Meaning is a property of language.

6. A 'language' is an abstraction from the way in which people use codes; that is, an abstraction concerning codes and concerning contexts of use. Knowledge of a language requires knowledge of the formal properties of the abstracted code, of the common properties abstracted from contexts of use, and of the relationship between these two in terms of frequency of occurrence and functional load. The common properties abstracted from contexts of use become, for the abstracter, the meaning potential of the forms of the code; not meaning, but potential for meaning. Meaning only occurs once - that is, on the actual occasion of use. All description is a description of past events or of abstractions from past events. (see 3.)

7. The individual is likely to have more than one 'code', but perhaps even so only one 'language'. There is the code of his first or native or most-commonly-used language. Then there are others which may be more-or-less fragmentary and more-or-less discrete from the first. The totally bilingual individual, with two completely discrete codes and two quite distinct languages is probably a very rare and perhaps even an impossible phenomenon.

The individual who has two codes will clothe each of them with meaning as in (4) above - that is, by use on the one hand and by projection on the other.

8. Abstractions concerning 'language', like those concerning 'code', are again idiosyncratic.

9. Apart from these abstractions there is no entity, 'the language' or 'the code'.

10. Nevertheless, implicitly agreed codes of behaviour and meaning

potential do to some extent become inherent in communal behaviour, communal institutions and communal artefacts. In language, the most obvious artefacts in which code and meaning potentials have become inherent are written documents. These inherent properties of a social organisation are the means by which newcomers to the organisation are socialised; again, however, the social member is his own creation, an idiosyncratic interpretation of the inherent properties.

As he creates and uses his codes and works towards the identity and social role he desires (see Le Page 1968b) the properties of the 'language of the community' become inherent in him and in his behaviour. He is likely to assume that they are inherent also in others around him.

11. In spite of everything that has been said above, individuals (and this most certainly includes linguists) need to project their idiosyncratic creations on to the social screen, and in doing so attempt to bring them into focus with or impose them upon the images projected by others. It is perhaps one of the basic properties of language that it provides us with the means to externalise our inner creations, to make them objects in our landscape so that we can deal with them and position ourselves in relation to them more satisfactorily. Creating these objects in our personal landscape we try at the same time to get others to show by their behaviour that they also recognise them, and so, recognise us. (A marriage, or some other verbal announcement and 'agreement', affords a good example of this process.) There is through the activity of projection and attempted focussing a feed-back between externalised and inner activity, between the anticipated interpretation of performance and inner competence; in this way too behaviour in a community can be focussed, so that norms of behaviour can become more and more deeply inherent in social institutions and the identification of these norms, and their totemisation, reinforced.

12. The study of contact-societies has the peculiar tendency to lay quite bare the properties of language listed under 1-9 above, and to minimise the appearance of those properties listed under 10 and 11. The study of highly-literate and homogeneous societies has the obverse effect. It should be the concern of the linguist - and particularly of the sociolinguist - to be constantly aware of all 11, so that they are mutually illuminating.

IV Let me now return to a detailed examination of the Sandra Hyde story.

From my knowledge of Caribbean Creoles generally, and my knowledge of my own English which I can choose to regard as Standard, it is not too difficult to extrapolate from the text in two directions: that of the forms of an idealized Creole about which I hold certain historical views, and that of my standard about which again I hold certain historical views. I can also bring the usage of the text more sharply into consistent focus by, for example, phonemicising my transcription, or using a morphophonemic transcription, or by identifying morphemes, words or syntactic patterns in some way which I feel reflects underlying forms. The three lines A, B and C of the transcription reflect some aspects of these processes, distinguishing crudely stages of adjustment from the vernacular to the standard language.

I shall now examine some morphological features in more detail:

Tense and/or aspect markers

Past contexts

A. mɪ

1. dɛm mɪ lɪv wɪð ðɛ̆ maða
2. dɪ man mi ga? sʌm sɔ̆ra:
3. wan ʔʊlf mɪ lɪv dɛʊ
4. ðɪ ʊlf mi krɪpl
5. ði pɪg mi ga·n aʊ?

B. ø

1. ðə sta·tu gɛ? bɪg
2. dɪ fɜ·s lɪtl pɪg faɪn wan man an i sə..
3. i as fɪ sɛl ɯm sʌm sɔ̆ra:
4. di man sɛl ʌm sʌm stra
5. ði wʊlf sə ...
6. aftɚwədz ði ʔʊlf blo dɒŋ ði hous an i ʔi:t ði fɜs lɪtl pɪg

C. Approximations to standard forms:

1. ðɛʊ wɒz θri lɪdl pɪgz
2. ðɪ sɛkant lɪtl pɪg wɛ·nt alaŋ
3. hi bɪlt̆ də haus
4. ði ʔʊlf kʊdn blo dɒŋ ði hɛʊs
5. dɪ tɜd lɪdl pɪg wɛnt
6. ðat wɒs mi ɯn mai bɪg barɪl
7. ðɪ ʔʊlf wəz aŋgi

D. Inceptives of manner, past context

ø

1. i rol gan hom
2. i rɒn gan hom
3. hi hʊri pʊ? də bærɪl iŋna ðɪ haʊs
4. i tɛl di ʔʊlf sə

E. Progressive Aspect

ø + dɪ

1. naʊ ɯmu ni gɛ bɪg
2. ði pɪg mɪ ga wan tɪŋ a wa·ta dɪ baɪl

mɪ + dɪ

1. ɛŋtaɯm i lʊk ði ʔʊlf mɪ dɪ kɒm
2. wɛŋ ɪ mɪ di kɒm hom

F. Future or intention

1. a wan i:t ju
   I will eat you
2. a waŋ 'hɪb dɒŋ wan 'apl
   I will throw down an apple

G. Desire:

1.	'ai 'wa·n tʊ bɪl ʔa haʊs	I want to build a house
2.	aɪ laʊk tʊ 'bɪl ʔə 'haʊs	I'd like to build a house
3.	di 'ʔʊlf mɪ wan 'i·t ɯm	The wolf wanted to eat him
4.	i mɪ 'wa·ŋ 'klaɯm in dɪ 'hous	He wanted to climb into the house
5.	di 'ʔʊlf mɪ 'wan 'klaɯm ɒp ði hous	The wolf wanted to climb up the house

It is clear from the above, and generally from the data sheets for Sandra Hyde and Simona Muschamp (for the latter see Appendix II) that the forms we would allocate to the Creole end of the spectrum greatly predominate. It is clear also that in accounting for these forms we have to take a number of factors into account at any one moment. For example, the form [wan ~ waŋ] as a marker of futurity or intention is unstressed, and probably derives from common English and Scottish dialect forms for WILL (see EDD WILL aux.v.); the Creole future marker WIN has the allomorphs [wɪn ~ wĩ ~ wan ~ waŋ ~ wã ~ am ~ ã]. It overlaps in form and meaning with the - normally stressed - marker of desire, WAAN < English want, with the allomorphs [wa·n ~ wan ~ waŋ]. When the 'correct' grammar is learned in

school it is easier to identify /wan/ with English want than with English will. (A similar case appears to occur in Hawaiian Creole, where the past marker /wen/, cognate with Jamaican ben, min, en (see Dictionary of Jamaican English BEN) and deriving from English been, is by some more educated speakers identified with went in 'correct English' as, for example, in W. Labov (1971). Elizabeth B. Carr (1972), however, relates Hawaiian Creole wen, like Jamaican ben, to English been).

Further, it is evident from the texts that some features are used because they are 'in the book' or are formulaic. For example, internal evidence including the relationship between the illustrations and what the children describe leads us to think that they first encountered the story in The Ladybird Reader, which begins "Once upon a time there was a mother pig who had three little pigs" (a formula in some respects more closely echoed by Simona Muschamp's /ɑ ma mɪ ha čri a ɑ li pɪg dɛm/, Text III) so that the formula accounts for Sandra Hyde's and Dorla Gentle's retention of an inflected rather than a Creole form and the mis-remembered formula for was instead of were.

Again, British Honduras usage, like Guyanese usage, appears to retain elements of both "Jamaican" and "Barbadian" systems of predication. I use these terms to refer to the basic lack of a distinction between verb and non-verb predicate constructions on the one hand, and the use of the contrast between derivatives of aux. be and do, reflecting West of England dialectal usage, to mark that distinction on the other:

"Standard"	'I am sick'	'I am the father'	'I run'
"Jamaican"	mi sɪk	mi ɑ fada	mi ron
"Bajan" ("Barbadian")	ai ɹz sɪk	ai ɹz di fada	ai dAz ron

It may be that at one time these two systems were socially stratified. Whether this was so in British Honduras or not, a system of the Jamaican kind may well be felt to be 'broader dialect' in that it allows for parallelism in underlying syntactic structures in both 'present' and 'past' of the kind reflected by the examples listed under A above, so that /mɪ/ ('past')(not /di/ 'progressive') can modify both 'verb' and 'non-verb' predicates. One can, as many Creole-speaking linguists do, extrapolate from mixed data of the kind provided by these texts towards an idealized Creole of the Jamaican kind. But if one does so, one is simply pushing back in time the base-line from which one starts; one's description is now simply a partial description of an earlier system which was itself the product of many contributory features, as I show below, just as Sandra Hyde's language is. She, in her turn, is more-or-less familiar with the usage of grandparents, parents, diverse members of her peer-group, the books in her school. At any particular moment in her narrative a number of factors must be invoked to account for her performance and hence for her underlying competence - because none of the factors I have mentioned is truly accidental, all are motivated in one way or another.

IV The processes of creolization: general

If we examine the processes of creolization which have taken place throughout the world we can, I think, make certain generalisations, but again only if we stick remorselessly to the individual as our starting-point.

We have to envisage first a grammar of spoken language which is different in certain important respects from that of a written language. In each case the context of situation is important, but in the case of a written language that context is very largely verbal, whereas in spoken language it is to a large extent non-verbal, with visual and perhaps tactile imagery, gestures and an inter-acting situation between speaker and hearer providing the specificatory circumstances within which we can speak of 'redundancy'.

Secondly, we must recognise that no performance datum is in fact a specification of a sentence of a language, but only a set of clues from which sharers of the language will be able to reconstruct for themselves sentences of their own language, clothing them with potential meaning. In the case of written data, the clues are more complete in the sense of using non-contracted forms and of supplying both subject and predicate within one monologue; and they perhaps take us into certain grammatical constructions only feasible within a literate version of a language which relies on eye-memory rather than ear-memory; but they are less complete as clues in that certain grammatically-important features, and in particular prosodic features of the spoken language, have to be inferred from the context and from the rather limited punctuation available. Thus redundancy, a most important consideration in processes of linguistic change, is probably greatest in the context of a spoken dialogue, least in the context of a written monologue. The description of a spoken language should include a description of prosodic features, since - so it seems to me - these, setting aside tonemic and other prosodic features significant at morpheme and word level - are the means whereby lexical and syntactic units of the 'code' are related to a context and so made part of the language. (The fact that prosodic features are not always consistently realised does not vitiate this claim, any more than the non-realisation of segmental features vitiates them as part of the speaker's system). A description of pidgin usage must therefore include prosodic and extra-linguistic features. Doing so, we find that there is commonly a loss of redundancy from the actual codes that are being adapted, although the overall redundancy including prosodic and extra-linguistic features probably remains constant. Of course, an instant pidgin may supply much of its grammar from the immediate context, but that part of the grammar has very little potential for transference to other contexts. Thus, the processes of creolization depend upon the replacement of more transient and context-bound features by less transient and more universal features, so that linguistic redundancy once again builds up. Even at the level of instant pidgin, however, behavioural features which may not be 'universals' but which are certainly very widespread in the world's languages are used to supply some part of the grammar - I refer to such features as repetition for emphasis.

Thirdly, where there is coincidence or near-coincidence between the contributory codes, the chances of that particular item or feature surviving in the pidgin are correspondingly increased. Those features which contribute to a pidgin grammar which does not formally distinguish between verb-predicates and non-verb predicates and does not formally mark tense are thus, on the one hand, those which, like simple linear juxta-position to mark predication, are universal because conditioned by the nature of the medium, and on the other those in which the features of the target-language can be easily identified with features of the learner's language. In the creolization and post-creolization processes, however,

considerations of prestige - a speaker's motivation, that is, towards identification with one culture or another - may lead to the replacement of features marked in some way as belonging to one culture by those belonging to another, while those not so marked may again survive. The lack of a formal distinction between verb-predication and non-verb predication is marked as 'broad vernacular', as is the lack of formal distinction for tense; such items receive a great deal of corrective treatment by school-teachers. There is, however, a good deal of covert coincidence between West African and English systems for marking tense adverbially, and for dealing with aspect (cf. Alleyne 1971), so that some version of such features exists in all the Caribbean varieties of Creole, and provides a basis for systemic identification of features at the Creole end of the continuum with those conveniently labelled for the model language through the 'grammars' used in school - even though functionally there may be considerable differences between the two ends. Thus was can be used as a replacement for /mɩ/, but more easily in copular constructions than in its function as an auxiliary, since in the latter accompanying modification of the verb form is necessary; and /mɩ/ is thereby identified in the contact situation as 'past' even though its functions in the broad Creole do not exactly correspond with those of English past tense markers.

Finally, all the resources of a speaker's native language are necessarily employed first in perceiving the behaviour of the other person in a contact situation and then in attempting to remedy any lack of resources in communicative competence. In the creolization or post-creolization stage it is the resources of the model language - whether this is the emerging peer-group language or a model such as the language of a dominant immigrant group or the language of a literature - that are called upon.

V Significantly it is not possible, in this text, to mark off sections of the text as being consistently Creole or non-Creole; that is, although there are some sections in which Creole features predominate, non-Creole features are always liable to co-occur with them.

Further, we must reckon with the evidence for hispanization; that is, the devoicing of final -z in this text - and generally by this informant - although rare by comparison with the informant Felipe Novelo, neverth less occurs a significant number of times. It is evident that in this particular community almost everybody will have some tendency to this feature, and it is likely that those who do not will be regarded as strangers. Informants II and III use it elsewhere, though not in this story.

Finally, we have the incidence of r-coloration in the story; again, not nearly as frequent here as when the child is reading, but the feature does occur, particularly in the numerals /fɝs/ and /θɝd/, even when these words otherwise exhibit features of creoleness such as the lack of a final dental in first and the initial slightly retroflex stop rather than a fricative in third. Retroflexion of initial and medial dentals is, incidentally, virtually a prosody - in the Firthian sense - in some BH Creole speakers.

And so, for this individual child, the idea one has of her competence is that it must be germinal rather than mechanically systematic; that the

question of projecting an identity must be built into the very basis of her behaviour; that that identity has more than one facet, and takes into account her relationship with her audience; and that the linguistic component of that competence on the one hand must include non-verbal considerations and, on the other, must present from the word-and-utterance-formation point of view sets of possibilities which interact at all levels - phonological, grammatical and lexical.

In the linguistic analysis of the tapes of the 280 children in our sample from Cayo District, six linguistic features were selected - after intensive investigation of many more - for diagnostic purposes, as described in detail in Le Page (1972). Of these, the prosodic analysis had to be dropped since we have not yet evolved a satisfactory way of quantifying the data. Of the remainder - illustrated in Appendix II - nasalisation was chosen because its incidence was found to correlate with other aspects of 'Creole-ness', r-coloration because it correlated with 'book-learning', and devoicing of syllable-final -z because it correlated with 'Spanish-ness'. The two morphological features reflected those aspects of Creole vernacular usage which teachers were at most pains to eradicate in the schools (they proved however more difficult to quantify on a statistically satisfactory basis than the phonological features). None of this should be taken as meaning that any of these features is, for our purposes, thought of as belonging specifically to any system other than that of the individual child - and the statements about that child's system have to be made on the basis of a statistical analysis of past events which has only a probability value for the future. The Sandra Hyde text allows us to present such an analysis in regard to one particular kind of context - re-telling a story taken from a book. The sample statistics on p.2 for Sandra Hyde are part of the profile of her linguistic behaviour in this context, and are held to reflect her socio-linguistic competence in this context; the more complete statistics in a data sheet such as that in Appendix II allow the profile to be given greater depth as variation from context to context is taken into account. In this way her choice of identity (within the theoretical framework set out in Le Page 1968 b) is reflected in a set of linguistic coordinates which allow her to be 'clustered'.

Now let us turn to the other children, a sample of whose behaviour in a similar context is illustrated in texts II, III and IV and quantified on p.2. We see that they share each aspect of her behaviour to some extent, but that the ingredients are mixed in differing proportions for each. We may consider that each of them has some conception of what it is to be like their parents, what it is to be like their brothers and sisters, what it is to be like the other children at their school, what it is to be like the other children of their colour, or in their town; what it is to be unlike members of another ethnic group and so on. For each one, these judgments will be idiosyncratic but will be based on similar overt data - the actual behaviour of the members of their community - and their personal perception and evaluation of the data. There is no single linguistic system which they 'internalize', and to speak in such terms is misleading. They are as they go along weighing up their chances of being accepted in one role or another role, creating for themselves the stereotypes for those roles. I think I am in considerable agreement with the approach to competence outlined by Dell Hymes in "Sociolinguistics and the Ethnography of Speaking" (in Social Anthropology and Language ed. E. Ardener 1971). One must always come back to the individual and his acts of identity in a community.

APPENDIX I

Full text of the story 'The Three Little Pigs' as told by Sandra Hyde, St. Andrew's Anglican School, San Ignacio, British Honduras - Standard IV.

Note: Line A is the (fairly broad) phonetic transcription of the tape; B, a version 'standardized' morphologically according to what I judge to be the etymology of each morpheme used, enclosing in square brackets doubtful items; C, a version 'standardized' lexically and syntactically according to my own usage. In line A, -V+ nasal consonant (N) -> -Ṽ, -VN or -V̄N.

A 'wʌns apɒna 'taɯm 'ðɛɐ wɒz 'θri ˌlɪdl ˌpɪgz↘dɛm mɪ

B once upon a time there was three little pigs them been
C Once upon a time there were three little pigs. They

A 'lɪv wɪð ðɛ 'maða an 'aftɐwɜdz(s) dɛm . . ðɐ 'staˑtu

B live with them/y mother and afterwards them . . they start to
C lived with their mother and then they . . they started to

A ˌgɛ? 'bɪg an ðɛ 'ma 'sɐ 'naʊ 'unu ˌni 'gɛ 'bɪg

B get big and they/them ma say now [unu = you pl.] do get big
C grow up and their mother said "Now all of you are growing up

A so unu 'haftu go 'out an 'faɪn unu 'housˀ an dɪ

B so [unu] have - to go out and find [unu] house and the
C so you must go out and find yourselves houses". And the

A 'fɜˑs lɪtl pɪg 'faɪn wan man and i 'sɐˀ dɪ 'man mi

B first little pig find one man and he say . . the man been
C first little pig found a man and he said . . the man had

A ga? sʌm 'sŏraː an i as fɪ 'sɛl ɐm sʌm 'sŏraːˀan

B got some straw and he ask for sell him some straw and
C some straw and he asked him to sell him some straw and

A 'aftɐwɜdz dɪ man 'sɛl am sʌm 'stra an i gaːn am bɪl

B afterwards the man sell him some straw and he gone and build
C then the man sold him some straw and he went and built

A i 'housˀ'an di . . 'ʔulf. . wan 'ʔulf mɪ 'lɪv dɛɐ an ði

B he house and the . . wolf . . one wolf been live there and the
C his house and the . . wolf . . A wolf lived there and the

A 'wʊlf seˀ ɪf . . ɪf . . ɪf jɐ 'no 'mɛk a gɛt 'inɐ di hous

B wolf say if . . if . . if you no make I get in-of the house
C wolf said "If . . if . . if you don't let me get into the house

A a wan 'i:t ju ↷ an 'aftəwədz ði ʔulf 'blo 'doŋ ði 'hous

B I will eat you and afterwards the wolf blow down the house
C I will eat you. And then the wolf blew down the house

A an i ʔi:t ði 'fɜ:s ˌlɪtl 'pɪg ↷ an ðɪ 'sɛkant 'lɪtl 'pɪg

B and he eat the first little pig and the second little pig
C and he ate the first little pig and the second little pig

A 'wɛ•nt a'laŋ an ðɪ 'tɜ•d 'lɪtl 'pɪg ↷ an wɛn i 'tɜ•d

B went along and the third little pig and when the third
C went on his way and the third little pig and when the third

A ˌlɪdl 'pɪg ↷ 'mi•t 'ʌp tu ʔa 'man wɪt a 'lat ɒv

B little pig meet up to a man with a lot of
C [sic - for second] little pig met a man with a lot of

A 'sɪkst[sic] i 'se ↷ 'pli•z 'sɛl mi ˌsʌm stɪks ↷ 'ai 'wa•n tu bɪl

B sticks he say please sell me some sticks I want to build
C sticks he said "Please sell me some sticks. I want to build

A ʔa haus ɒf mai oən ↷ an i ... ðɪ 'sɛkant ˌlɪtl 'pig 'bɪl ə

B a house of my own and he . . the second little pig build a
C a house of my own", and the second little pig built a

A 'haus aŋ ði ʔulf ↷ 'blo ˌhɪ 'haus 'sĕət 'doŋ ↷ di 'ðɜ•d

B house and the wolf blow her house straight down the third
C house and the wolf blew her house straight down. The third

A ˌlɪdl 'pɪg 'mi•t . . 'mit ə 'maŋ 'goɪŋ wɪt 'sʌm ˌbrɪks ↷ ðɪ

B little pig meet . . meet a man going with some bricks the
C little pig met . . met a man going along with some bricks. The

A 'man dɪ 'tɜ•d 'lɪdl 'pɪg ˌsɛʔ 'pli•z 'sɛl 'mi ˌsʌm 'brɪks ↷

B man . . the third little pig said please sell me some bricks
C man . . the third little pig said "Please sell me some bricks

A ˌaɪ. . ˌaɪ laɪk tu 'bɪl ʔə 'haus ɒf mai 'oən ↷ ˌdi 'man 'sɛl 'hʌm

B I . . I like to build a house of my own the man sell him
C I . . I'd like to build a house of my own". The man sold him

A ˌsʌm 'brɪks an 'hi bɪlt də haus an ði ʔulf kʊdn

B some bricks and he built the house and the wolf couldn't
C some bricks and he built the house and the wolf couldn't

A 'blo 'doŋ ði 'hous ↷ aŋ ðɛm mɨ [bɪ] 'gaʔ mɪarago'roŋ

B blow down the house and them been [do] got merry-go-round
C blow the house down. And they had a merry-go-round

A an 'a•l 'kaɪŋ ə 'tɪŋ an ði 'ʔulf 'tɛl ði[ɛm]

B and all kinds of things and the wolf tell the

A 'θɜ˞d lɪdl 'pɪg ɛf jʊ ˌgo 'i•n an i 'tɜ˞d lɪdl 'pɪg

B third little pig if you go in and the third little pig
C third little pig if he was going in and the third little pig

A se 'jɛs bɪ'kja di 'ʔʊlf mɪ wan 'i•t ɐm 'so 'nau dɪ

B say yes because the wolf been want eat him so now the
C said "Yes" because the wolf wanted to eat him. So now the

A 'tɜ˞d ˌlɪdl 'pɪg 'went an wɛŋ ɪ 'mɪ di ˌkom 'hom an

B third little pig went and when he been [do] come home and
C third little pig went (in) and when he was coming home and

A ði 'ʊl [ʔɛm] i 'klaɪm 'i•ŋɐ wan 'barɪl aŋ i 'rol daʊŋ ðɪ

B the wolf . . he climb in-of one barrel and he roll down the
C the wolf . . he climbed into a barrel and he rolled down the

A 'hɪl ɐn i 'nak daʊŋ ðɪ ʔʊlf an ðɪ 'ʊlf mi[ɛm]'krɪpl

B hill and he knock down the wolf and the wolf been cripple
C hill and he knocked down the wolf and the wolf was crippled

A an i 'rol gan 'hom 'i•nɐ dɪ 'bærɪl an ɛntaɪm

B and he roll gone home in-of the barrel and [entaim = ? anytime =
C and he rolled home in the barrel and when

A ɪŋ gɛt 'hom hi 'hɒri 'pʊʔ ðə 'bærɪl 'ɪŋna

B then/when ...] he get home he hurry put the barrel in-of
C he got home he (quickly) put the barrel in
(hurried to)

A ðɪ 'haʊs an ɪŋ 'gan ɪŋ'said wɛn ði 'ʔʊlf gɛ dɛ ði[ɛm]

B the house and he gone inside when the wolf get there the
C the house and he went inside. When the wolf got there the

A 'pɪg se ði ʔʊlf se i se sʌm . . i 'se[ɛm] ˌsʌm'θɪŋ

B pig say . . the wolf say . . he say some . . he say . . something
C pig said. . the wolf said. . he said "Some". . he said . ."Something

A 'kom an 'naŋk mi 'sĕrət 'dɒŋ an ði lɪtl 'pɪg se 'ðat

B come and knock me straight down and the little pig say that
C came and knocked me right down" and the little pig said "That

A wɒs 'mi ʔɪn mai 'bɪg 'barɪl an ðɪ 'ʔʊlf wəz 'aŋgi an i mɪ

B was me in my big barrel and the wolf was angry and he been
C was me in my big barrel", and the wolf was angry and he wanted

A 'wa•ŋ 'klaɪm ina dɪ 'haʊs an ði 'pɪg ŏeʔ ði 'wɪndo an

B want climb in-of the house and the pig shut the window and
C to climb into the house and the pig shut the window and

A wɛŋ ⌒ wɛŋ ði 'pɪg mi ˌgaˑn 'aʊʔ bai i 'gjaˑdn an ɛŋtaɪm

B when . . when the pig been gone out by he garden and [entaim]
C when . . when the pig went out through his garden and when

A i lʊk ði 'ʔʊlf mɪ dɪ 'kɒm an i 'klaɪm pan wan 'ʔapl

B he look the wolf been [do] come and he climb upon apple
C he looked the wolf was coming and he climbed up in an apple

A ǰi ⌒ an ⌒ aŋ i 'tɛl ði 'ʔʊlf se a tɛəl jʊ a waŋ 'hɪb

B tree and . . and he tell the wolf say I tell you I will heave
C tree and . . and he told the wolf that he would throw

A dɒŋ wan apl fʊ aŋ an i 'ǰoʊ ði 'apl 'iˑnɐ 'buš

B down one apple for you and he throw the apple in-of bush
C down an apple for him and he threw the apple into the bushes

A an i 'ǰɒmp 'dɒŋ 'afɐ dɪ 'ǰi an i rɒn ˌgan 'hom ⌒ an

B and he jump down off-of the tree and he run gone home and
C and he jumped down from the tree and he ran home and

A di 'ʔʊlf mɪ 'wan 'klaɪm ɒp ði 'haʊs ⌒ bɒʔ wɛntaɪm i 'klaɪm

B the wolf been want climb up the house but when-time he climb
C the wolf wanted to climb up the house but when he climbed

A paŋ ði[ɛm] pan dɪ 'liˑ 'ʔatɪk ⌒ ði 'pɪg mɪ ga wan tɪŋ

B upon the . . upon the little attic the pig been got one thing
C up on the . . up on the little gable the pig had a thing

A a 'waˑta dɪ 'baɪl an wɛntaɪm i 'ǰɒmp i ǰɒmp 'sǰɛt

B of water [do] boil and [wentaim] he jump he jump straight
C of water boiling and when he jumped he jumped straight

A inɐ di tɪŋ ŋ 'hat 'waˑtɐ

B in-of the thing of hot water
C into the thing of hot water.

Text II (Informant 258: Dorla Gentle)

A wʌns upənə taɯm dɛɜ wʊz čri lil pɪgz de jʊstʊ lɪv

B Once upon-a time there was three little pigs they used-to live
C Once upon a time there were three little pigs. They lived

A wɪt dɛɜr madɜr ã wan dɪe de mada tʊol ðɛm dat dɪe

B with their mother and one day they mother told them that they
C with their mother, and one day their mother told them that they

A wɜr getɪŋ tu bɪg an dɪe had tʊ gʊ an faɪn dɛɜr

B were getting too big and they had to go and find their
C were getting too big and (that) they'd have to go and find their

A ʊon hoʊs ... an dɪ črɪ af ðɛm went out an dɪ fɜrs wan

B own house ... and the three of them went out and the first one
C own house ... and the three of them went out and the first one

A sɑ a man wɪt sʌm sčra:z han ɪ aks dɪ man tʊ

B saw a man with some straws and he ask the man to
C saw a man with some straw and he asked the man if he would be

A plɪ:z gɪv hʊm sʊm af dɪ sčra:z tʊ mek hoʊs an dɪ

B please give him some of the straws to make house and the
C kind enough to give him some of the straw to make a house and the

A man gɪv ɪt tʊ hʊm an ɪ went an bɪl hɪz hoʊs

B man give it to him and he went and build) his house
built)
C man gave it to him and he went and built his house.

Text III (Informant 84: Simona Muschamp)

A dɪ ma mɪ ha ˇ̆ri a dɪ li pɪg dɛ̃ an
B The ma [mɪ = been] have three of the little pig-them and
C The mother had three of the little pigs and

A dɛn i se wan dɪe dɪ ma se at ow unu
B then he say one day the ma say that how [unu = you pl.]
C then she said, one day the mother said, "You

A ˇ̆ud gu an bɪl jɜr uon hous ã .. ɛntãɪ wɛn
B should go and build your own house and .. when-time when
C should all go and build your own house" and... when

A dɛ̃ sɪ wã man mɪ dɪ kˇ̆ wɪd stra dɛ̃ aks dɪ
B them see one man been do come with straw them ask the
C they saw a man coming with straw they asked the

A man fɪ sʌm a dɪ stra ã i gã• gã• bɪl i
B man for some of the straw and he gone gone build he
C man for some of the straw and he went and built his

A hous an dɪ ulf kʌm ã ɪ bluo dãŋ ɪt ã ɪ
B house and the wolf come and he blow down it and he
C house and the wolf came and he blew it down and he

A it ã an dɪ nɛks wan mɛ̃ mɛk out a brɪk ã ɪ
B eat him and the next one been make out of brick and he
C ate him And the next one.. was made out of bricks and he

A bluo an ɪ bluo an ɪ mɪ kjˇ̆ɑ: bluo dʌŋ da wan
B blow and he blow and he been can't blow down that one
C blew and he blew and he couldn't blow that one down

Text IV (Informant 276: Felipe Novelo)

A wʌns ɤpɒn taɯm deɜr wɜr θrɪ lɪtl pɪgs

B Once upon time there were three little pigs
C Once upon a time there were three little pigs

A ðat de wɜr bɪg an hɪs .. deɜr wʌs .. de haf ..

B that they were big and his .. there was .. they have ..
C who were grown-up and their ... there was .. they had ..

A de haf deɜr mɒda an deɜr mɒðar sɛɪz

B they have their mother and their mother says
C they had their mother and their mother said

A dat dɛɪ kjan gɤ an mɛɪk deɜr haʊs bɪkɒz

B that they can go and make their house because
C that they could go and make their house because

A de ar bɪg an sɤ de wɛnt an dɪ fɜrst wan ..

B they are big and so they went and the first one ..
C they were grown-up. So they went and the first one ..

A dɪ fɜrst lɪtl pɪg sa æ man wɪt .. dat wɒs

B the first little pig saw a man with .. that was
C the first little pig saw a man with .. who was

A kjarɪŋ sʌm stɪks ʌnd hɪ sɛɪ dat ɪf hɪ wɛntʊ

B carrying some sticks and he say that if he want-to
C carrying some sticks and asked if he wanted to

A sɛl ɪt sɤ hɪ kjan mɛɪk hɪs haʊs dɛn dɪ nɛks

B sell it so he can make his house then the next
C sell them so he could make his house. Then the next

A dɛɪ de .. æ wʊlf kɛɯm

B day the .. a wolf came ..
C day the .. a wolf came ..

Appendix II - Sample Data Sheet

Informant: Simona Muschamp (84) Age: 12 Sex: F School: Norland Standard: V Home Town or Village: Esperanza

	Anansi story- No. of words (A): 400			Non-Anansi Story No. of words (A): 400			Conversation: Early sample. No. of words (A): 400			Conversation: Late sample. No. of words (A): 400			Reading and Word List. No. of words (A): 200		
	No. of cases (B)	No. of loci (C)	(B) as %age of (C)	No. of cases (B)	No. of loci (C)	(B) as %age of (C)	No. of cases (B)	No. of loci (C)	(B) as %age of (C)	No. of cases (B)	No. of loci (C)	(B) as %age of (C)	No. of cases (B)	No. of loci (C)	(B) as %age of (C)
Feature: Nasalisation > $\tilde{V}$ or $V\eta$	77	144	53	70	132	53	30	112	26	95	152	63	3	34	9
r-colouration or post-vocalic r	2	41	5	3	14	21	17	42	40	4	26	15	36	36	100
devoicing of -Z in syllable-final position	0	4	* -	0	2	* -	4	15	27	0	5	0	0	13	0
Creole past tense ø or /mi/	35	40	87	44	44	100	0	0	* -	26	26	100	5	28	19
Creole plural ø or /-dem/	7	11	63	3	5	60	9	16	56	13	16	81	0	1	* -

* Too small a sample

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